



# (De)Globalization & the Nation

ANTH/SOCI 398-B  
Fall 2019

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Meeting days and times:  
Thursdays: 8:45am–11:30am  
Campus: SGW, FG B030

“Some of the most significant cultural phenomena of our time have to do with responses to and interpretations of the global system as a whole. More specifically, globalization involves pressure on societies, civilizations and representatives of traditions, including both “hidden” and “invented” traditions, to sift the global-cultural scene for ideas and symbols considered to be relevant to their own identities.” ~ Roland Robertson

“The global is the true state of affairs and the only adequate framework for the analysis of any part of the world, at least since the rise of the first commercial civilizations.” ~ Jonathan Friedman

“The paradox of the current world conjuncture is the increased production of cultural and political boundaries at the very time when the world has become totally bound together in a single economic system with instantaneous communication between different sectors of the globe.” ~ Linda Basch, et al.

“...in contrast with the nation, [global] mankind as source and object of morality suffers this deficiency: there is no constituted [global] society. It is not a social organism having its own consciousness, its own individuality, and its own organization. It is only an abstract term by which we designate the sum of states, nations, and tribes, which in their totality constitute mankind....Now, it would seem impossible to subordinate and sacrifice a group [i.e., the nation] that does in fact exist, that is at present a living reality, to one not yet born [i.e., a global state] and that very probably never will be anything but an intellectual construct....conduct is moral only when it as for its object a society having its own structure and character. How can humanity have such a character and fill such a role since it is not a constituted group?” ~ Emile Durkheim

“The initial problem with the concept of a ‘global culture’ is one of the meaning of terms. Can we speak of ‘culture’ in the singular?...we can only speak of cultures, never just culture; for a collective mode of life, or a repertoire of beliefs, etc., presupposes different modes and repertoires in a universe of modes and repertoires. Hence, the idea of a ‘global culture’ is a practical impossibility, except in interplanetary terms. Even if the concept is predicated of homo sapiens, as opposed to other species, the differences between segments of humanity in terms of lifestyle and belief-repertoire are too great, and the common elements too generalized, to permit us to even conceive of a globalized culture.” ~ Anthony D. Smith

Appearing to be tremendous shocks to the current system of worldwide integration, several momentous events seem to threaten an unravelling of “**globalization**”. Some have declared that the “liberal international order” is now at risk, along with a “rules-based” system of managing international affairs. Even bolder: many observers now declare that we are entering a period of “**de-globalization**”. The events around which such narratives have gathered, range from **9/11** to the US-led invasion of **Iraq** in 2003 which violated international law, to the victory for **Brexit** in the UK on June 23, 2016 (and the subsequent electoral triumph of the Brexit Party in the EU Parliament elections of May 23-26, 2019), and then the election of **Donald J. Trump** to the presidency of the United States on November 8, 2016. Of course, much more can be added to produce a more complete picture, including the rise of ISIS and terrorist attacks around the world, to the multiplication of barriers whether in the form of actual walls and rising anti-immigrant movements, or sanctions, or protectionist tariffs implemented in a series of widening trade wars launched by the US.

Others will instead paint a more nuanced picture that can consist of some or all of the following elements (or even more):

- ⊙ that *globalization* itself was more an ideal (or a myth) than an accurate representation of reality; that the world has been globalized for at least the past 500 years, or longer, and current events are merely transitional bumps;
- ⊙ that challenges to globalization arose almost immediately, in the form of numerous national revolts against structural adjustment programs imposed by the IMF and World Bank, followed by a rise of anti-globalization movements in North America and Europe in the late 1990s;
- ⊙ that global trade has never truly been *free*, and that barriers persisted and even multiplied well before current events;
- ⊙ there has been a revitalization of indigenous, ethnic, and religious communities, among various cultures around the world, even in the West itself, or against the West;
- ⊙ and, that there has never been anything like a global government, thus states have continued to retain their primary importance in international affairs.

While not having the time to do each of these topics sufficient justice, this course will introduce you to these and other issues, questions, and debates concerning the current state of our world.

## INTRODUCTION

Globalization has been used generally to denote the increasingly rapid and far-flung circulation of people, money, commodities, and images around the world. Since at least the early 1990s, a common belief in the media, academia, and international political and economic institutions has been that “we now live in a fully globalized world,” and that this fact is both an *inevitable* outcome and one that is also *irreversible*. Yet, in recent years we have started to hear, with increasing frequency, that the world has entered into a period of *de-globalization*. One of the reasons offered for the onset of de-globalization is the resurgence of nationalism; the vitality of *the nation* as a central unit of primary political affiliation, cultural attachment, and even emotional loyalty; and, there has been

a widespread reaffirmation of the principles of sovereignty and national self-determination. Another reason used to explain alleged de-globalization is the crisis of *neo-liberalism*, which after four decades has spread from the periphery to the centre of the world-system, provoking intense opposition and resistance to austerity, structural adjustment, privatization, and the liberalization of trade and finance. So what has really happened? What kind of change are we living through right now? And where will this take us?

## OVERVIEW: CONTENT and AIMS

The purpose of this course is to introduce students to a range of theories and concepts of globalization, de-globalization, neoliberalism, and nationalism. The primary emphases of this course comprise historical and theoretical questions. In particular we examine a number of critical questions posed by contemporary struggles over processes of global standardization, resistance against international media monopolies, debates about citizenship and immigration, and the emergence of populist and nationalist movements that sometimes disrupt the traditional left-right divide.

The aim of the course is not to either impart or impose a partisan political perspective, to which students must adhere. Many of the subjects up for discussion in this course involve currently contentious and controversial issues, and students are likely to be exposed to one or more points of view that they may find unpalatable. However, the course director's duty is not to act as a censor who edits reality, but rather to try to present, explain, and assist students in understanding a range of prominent, influential and critical perspectives and paradigms. Students in turn should challenge themselves not to seek aid and comfort for views that they may already hold, but to try to understand some rather complicated problems from different angles of view. Together, both the students and the course director should achieve something that today is increasingly rare and is thus more valuable: substituting *analysis* in the place of ideological wishful thinking, and focusing on asking the most productive questions possible.

Some of the more basic questions which are addressed in the course lectures and readings are the ones that follow below.

## THE 21 KEY QUESTIONS FOR THIS COURSE

1. What is globalization?
2. When did the world become globalized?
3. What are the "facts" of globalization?
4. What are the structures and who are the agents of globalization?
5. What has been the role of states in the process of globalization?
6. Has globalization decreased/diminished state sovereignty? Or has it instead accentuated state sovereignty?
7. What are the consequences of the different types of globalization (economic, political, cultural)?
8. What are some of the leading cultural conflicts that have arisen from neoliberal

globalization?

9. How do theories of globalization compare with theories of modernization, dependency theory, analysis of the emergence of the capitalist world-system, theories of transnationalism, and theories of cultural imperialism?
10. What are the differences, if any, between globalism, transnational capitalism, liberalism, and Americanism?
11. Is globalization a new stage of human history?
12. Is globalization a better stage of human development?
13. Is globalization an inevitable outcome of human societal progress?
14. Is globalization a new form of colonization?
15. Why has there been resistance to globalization in different societies around the planet?
16. Is globalization an irreversible process? Even if not irreversible as such, can it still be undone?
17. Do trade wars, sanctions, the rise of Brexit, centrifugal tensions in the European Union, and the election of right-wing populist and/or nationalist governments portend a new era of “de-globalization”?
18. What are the forms and logics of de-globalization movements?
19. What is being de-globalized, and to what extent if any?
20. Do local places and nations still matter, and if so, why and how?
21. How do we understand the current period, and where do we think the world is heading?

These questions will be addressed by analyzing a number of core areas of interest, presented through the lectures and readings.

## CORE AREAS OF INTEREST

- a) Neoliberalism: global finance, shifts in the international division of labour, and structural adjustment;
- b) The Transnational Capitalist Class;
- c) Global trade liberalization and trade wars;
- d) Multilateral financial institutions;
- e) Cultural conflicts around globalization;
- f) Transnational social movements, non-state actors, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs);
- g) The media and the production of a putative “global cultural consciousness”;
- h) Time-space compression;
- i) Travel, migration, diasporas;
- j) Nationalism; and,
- k) State sovereignty.

The core areas of interest are embedded within the following structure of the course.

## STRUCTURE of the COURSE

This course is divided into three broad parts:

**PART ONE:** Focusing on how globalization has been defined, and how it has been theorized. In addition, we examine competing perspectives on how parts of the world have come to be incorporated into a larger whole. In this part we also consider what is neoliberalism and how it is tied to political-economic globalization, as well as some of the cultural effects of neoliberal globalization. We thus study the contested meanings and competing projects of globalization, and the diverse interests and histories of globalization.

**PART TWO:** Here the focus is on the crisis of (neoliberal) globalization, leading toward alleged de-globalization. In this part we spend some time analysing contemporary debates around immigration, and how migration is tied to globalization. We consider various forces of anti-globalization, and address the question of whether or not we have entered into de-globalization.

**PART THREE:** The Nation is the focus of the final part of the course. In particular we examine the relationships between *the nation* and globalization, and try to understand how and why national self-determination interacts with globalization, and how the nation has challenged globalization. We consider how nations continue to be important units, and why, and we discuss the resurgence of different types of nationalism.

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students are responsible for acquiring all course content, by attending lectures, taking careful notes, doing the assigned readings for the weeks they are assigned, and by asking questions.

Having completed this course, students should have acquired a significant familiarity with multiple facets of the various core issues listed above, and be able to formulate their own initial answers to the key course questions listed in this syllabus.

Students should then be able to productively apply the knowledge gained to a variety of fields and activities in the coming years, whether it is journalism, or political activism, or a pursuit in business and international relations, work for a non-governmental organization, or possible employment in the foreign policy establishment of their country or in the international system itself. The hope is that students who have taken this course will bring a new sensitivity and ability to question and understand, both more broadly and more carefully than we see among experts and leaders in the present.

## RESPONSIBILITIES of the COURSE DIRECTOR

The duty of the course director is not just to impart information—although that is one key aim—but to also challenge students to question any preconceived ideas that are held as if they were beyond question. That which is often left unsaid needs to be spoken in order to better scrutinize and thus comprehend it. Unexamined assumptions need to be put to the test because too often (to borrow from Pierre Bourdieu), what supposedly goes without saying is that which comes without saying. The course director is thus not here to teach students *doctrine*; this is not a recruitment drive. The course director's

role is not to ensure unanimity, nor to censor and encourage reality-denial. Lectures should be informative and thought-provoking, but without being odious or carelessly propounded. Time should be allowed for as many sides of a debate as possible, even if strict “balance” is impossible. Time should also be allowed to discuss readings and films, and the course director will be available to students not just in class, but during office hours, and by e-mail. Grading is to be done consistently, according to reasonable standards, and without prejudice to any given student.

## RESPONSIBILITIES of the STUDENTS

Apart from acquiring course content as outlined above (plus see “How Not to Succeed in this Course” in a following section), students should always try to keep an open mind, and cultivate their curiosity. Students are not to engage in disrespectful or disruptive behaviour in class, or be abusive to others. Students should especially never dismiss anything out of hand. This entire course is also a test of students’ judgment, and it is therefore vital that they show good judgment in every aspect of their participation in this course, but not to the detriment of a full exploration of the issues and questions raised in this course.

## ASSIGNMENTS

**1. Mid-term Exam:** covering part one (following my traditional structure)—worth 45% of the course grade. Assigned on Thursday, October 10. Due on Thursday, October 24.

**2. Film commentary:** critical analysis of the contents of a film; corroborate with five (5) primary sources (government documents, interviews, statistics from national or international organizations) *or* by using three (3) relevant journal articles—worth 30% of the course grade. Due on Thursday, November 14.

**3. Final assignment: Questioning Globalization**—a list of 10 key questions applied to globalization—worth 25% of the course grade. Assigned as of Thursday, September 5. Due on Thursday, November 28.

All assignments are to be submitted electronically to [maximilian.forte@concordia.ca](mailto:maximilian.forte@concordia.ca), as attached documents in an email message. Allowable file formats are restricted to **.docx**, **.doc**, or **.rtf**—no other file formats can be accepted. The preferred file format is **.doc**. All assignments should be sent by **10:00pm (22:00)**. Acknowledgments of receipt will be sent by 10:00am on the following morning. If you do not receive an acknowledgment, it means your paper was not received. Check your email for the acknowledgment. Normally, no early acknowledgments of receipt will be sent for papers that are submitted early. You will be notified in advance of the maximum word limit for each assignment.

## COURSE POLICIES

### ***No Late Work is Acceptable***

*Extensions are not taken by students, under any circumstances. An extension can only*

be granted by the course coordinator, in advance of the due date for an assignment, and only under extreme circumstances.

Otherwise, no late work is accepted in this course. No technical reasons are acceptable for late work, therefore identify alternatives that might be needed to complete and submit an assignment.

Incomplete grades (INC) are not granted in this course, under any circumstances.

### ***Attendance***

Every semester there is a minority of students who believe that a course can be taken as if it were a correspondence course, or an online course. Instead, regular attendance at lectures is critical to passing this course, and to avoid unnecessary failures the following policy will be strictly enforced:

In cases where a student is noticed as being absent for most or all of the classes, the student will receive a **failing grade** for the course. Also, see the section below titled, “How Not to Succeed in this Course”.

### ***Citing Sources***

To refer to any ideas, information or quotes that you acquired from the assigned readings, simply end the sentence in which the material appears with a reference in brackets, as follows: (Smith, 92)—where Smith is the surname of the author, and 92 is the page number on which the material appears. Do not formally cite lecture notes. No bibliography is needed, unless you use sources in addition to those assigned—in that case a bibliography should appear at the end of your essay. Do not use footnotes or endnotes.

### ***Academic Integrity and Avoiding Plagiarism***

First, students are required to read and follow Concordia University's policies on Academic Integrity. See:

<https://www.concordia.ca/students/academic-integrity.html>

On plagiarism, you must read:

<http://www.concordia.ca/students/academic-integrity/plagiarism.html>

### ***How (Not) to Succeed in this Course***

- Students will receive a failing grade for this course if they choose to treat it as a “distance education” or “correspondence course,” in other words, by missing most or all classes.
- All assigned readings are mandatory, and represent a minimum amount of reading needed to succeed in this course. In some of your written assignments, you are required to apply what is learned in class from lectures and assigned readings, and to show evidence of having covered these materials by using one’s judgment in selectively applying them where they are most appropriate.
- As with any course, the rule of thumb is that at a *minimum* one should be doing three hours of work for each hour spent in class, each week. One should thus budget

for between seven and nine hours of study for this course, each week, beyond class time.

- It is usually not advisable to avoid taking notes, assuming you will remember everything, or that all that is needed is what is on the lecture slides (which are *not* lecture notes). You should also be asking questions in class any time that material presented or assigned as reading is not clear to you.

### ***How Work is Graded***

For all work done in this course you will receive a numerical grade which will be converted to a letter grade when final grades are processed. To translate numbers into letter grades, please consult the following chart, copied directly from a faculty handbook in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. It is vital that you understand that the characterizations below (i.e., “excellent”) are central in guiding the instructor’s evaluation of the quality of a paper.

Work that covers all of the basics, in a reasonably competent fashion, without major flaws, is deemed “satisfactory.” Work that has few flaws, and shows an advanced understanding, writing and research ability is deemed “very good.” Work that leaves little room for improvement (within the context of expectations of a 300 level course), demonstrating that the student has taken considerable initiative, showing sophisticated understanding and ability, is deemed “excellent.”

A+	90-100	}	"Excellent"
A	85- 89		
A-	80- 84		
B+	77- 79	}	"Very Good"
B	73- 76		
B-	70- 72		
C+	67- 69	}	"Satisfactory"
C	63- 66		
C-	60- 62		
D+	57- 59	}	"Poor"
D	53- 56		
D-	50- 52		
F or FNS	40 (30-49)	}	"Fail/ No Record/ No Submission"
R	20 ( 0-29)		

There is one major exception to these policies: *in the event of a major public health crisis, or events beyond the University’s control, alternative course requirements and grading policies will be developed and used.*

*Please do not call the Department’s main office for course-related inquiries.*



### Announcements, E-Mail Use

In the event of an unscheduled cancellation of a class, the appropriate notice is posted by the University on its website. See the “Class Cancellations” link on [www.concordia.ca](http://www.concordia.ca). In addition, digital billboards on campus will announce the cancellation. You will also be notified by email.

Please check your email as late as two hours before the start of class to ensure that the class has not been cancelled for that day.

Otherwise, for the duration of this course please check your email at least once each week, and look for any messages that begin with the course number.

Having said that, please ensure that you have the right email address entered in your MyConcordia student profile. That is the same email address to which course messages are sent.

# Schedule of Sessions and Readings

## *Outline:*

1: Introduction to the Course

PART ONE: Patterns of a Globalizing World

2: Conceptualizing/Defining Globalization

3: Cultural Globalization, Consciousness, and the Mass Media

4: World-Systemic Perspectives

5: Transnationalism and the Elites

6: Neoliberal Globalization: Theory, Practice, Outcomes

7: American Empire: Americanism and Americanization

PART TWO: The Crisis of Neoliberal Globalization

8: (Anti-)Free Trade and (De)Globalization

9: Structural Adjustment and Austerity: Lessons from Jamaica

10: The UK: Nationalism, Brexit, and the European Union

11: Immigration Debates in the US

PART THREE: The Nation

12: Nationalism and Globalization

13: Why Do Nations Still Matter?

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## **Session 1: Introduction to the Course**

*Thursday, September 5*

## **PART ONE: Patterns of a Globalizing World**

## **Session 2: Conceptualizing/Defining Globalization**

*Thursday, September 12*

### *Required Readings:*

1. David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, "Globalization"
2. Marco Caselli, "Globalization: In Search of Definition of a Controversial Concept"
3. Axel Dreher, Noel Gaston, Pim Martens, "Towards an Understanding of the Concept of Globalisation"

Monday, September 16:

- ☉ Last day to add fall-term and two-term courses.
- ☉ Deadline for withdrawal with tuition refund (DNE) from fall-term and two-term courses.

### **Session 3: Cultural Globalization, Consciousness, and the Mass Media**

*Thursday, September 19*

*Required Readings:*

1. T.H. Eriksen, “Chapter 2. Acceleration”
2. Anna Tsing, “The Global Situation”

### **Session 4: World-Systemic Perspectives**

*Thursday, September 26*

*Required Readings:*

1. Thomas Clayton, “‘Competing Conceptions of Globalization’ Revisited: Relocating the Tension between World-Systems Analysis and Globalization Analysis”
2. Christopher Chase-Dunn, Yukio Kawano and Benjamin D. Brewer, “Trade Globalization since 1795: Waves of Integration in the World-System”

*Optional Extra Reading:*

3. Carl Strikwerda, “From World-Systems to Globalization: Theories of Transnational Change and the Place of the United States”

### **Session 5: Transnationalism and the Elites**

*Thursday, October 3*

*Required Readings:*

1. William I. Robinson and Jerry Harris, “Towards a Global Ruling Class? Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class”
2. Peter Phillips, “Transnational Capitalist Class Power Elite: A Seventy-Year History”

### **Session 6: Neoliberal Globalization: Theory, Practice, Outcomes**

*Thursday, October 10*

*Required Readings:*

1. Pinelopi Koujianou Goldberg and Nina Pavcnik, “Distributional Effects of Globalization in Developing Countries”
2. Arthur S. Alderson and François Nielsen, “Globalization and the Great U-Turn: Income Inequality Trends in 16 OECD Countries”

Monday, October 14:

- © Thanksgiving Day — University closed

### **Session 7: American Empire: Americanism and Americanization**

*Thursday, October 17*

*Required Readings:*

1. Neil Smith, "Liberalism and the Roots of American Globalism"
2. Leo Panitch & Sam Gindin, "Planning the New American Empire"

## **PART TWO: The Crisis of Neoliberal Globalization**

### **Session 8: (Anti-)Free Trade and (De)Globalization**

*Thursday, October 24*

*Required Readings:*

1. Jorge G. Castañeda, "NAFTA's Mixed Record: The View From Mexico"
2. Craig Benjamin, "The Zapatista Uprising and Popular Struggles against Neoliberal Restructuring"
3. Richard L. Harris, "Resistance and Alternatives to Globalization in Latin America and the Caribbean"

### **Session 9: Structural Adjustment and Austerity: Lessons from Jamaica**

*Thursday, October 31*

*Film: "Life and Debt"*

*Required Readings:*

1. John W. Robinson, "Lessons from the Structural Adjustment Process in Jamaica"
2. Anthony J. Payne, "Orthodox Liberal Development in Jamaica: Theory and Practice"

Monday, November 4:

- ☉ Last day for academic withdrawal (DISC) from fall-term courses.

## **Session 10: The UK: Nationalism, Brexit, and the European Union**

*Thursday, November 7*

*Film: "Brexitannia"*

*Required Readings:*

1. Anthony D. Smith, "A Europe of Nations, or the Nation of Europe?"
2. Anthony D. Smith, "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity"
3. Christopher Caldwell, "The French, Coming Apart—A social thinker illuminates his country's populist divide"
4. Richard M. Reinsch II, "The Burdens of Belonging: Roger Scruton's Nation-State"

## **Session 11: Immigration Debates in the US**

*Thursday, November 14*

*Required Readings:*

1. Saskia Sassen, "America's Immigration 'Problem'"
2. Luis F.B. Plascencia, "The 'Undocumented' Mexican Migrant Question: Re-Examining the Framing of Law and Illegalization in the United States"
3. Andrew Kipnis, "Anthropology and the Theorisation of Citizenship"

## **PART THREE: The Nation**

### **Session 12: Nationalism and Globalization**

*Thursday, November 21*

*Required Readings:*

1. Norman Girvan, "Economic Nationalism"
2. Aradhana Sharma & Akhil Gupta, "Rethinking Theories of the State in an Age of Globalization"
3. A.D. Smith, "Towards a Global Culture?"

**Session 13: Why Do Nations Still Matter?**

*Thursday, November 28*

*Required Readings:*

1. Ramesh Ponnuru and Rich Lowry, “For Love of Country”
2. Andreas Wimmer, “Why Nationalism Works, And Why It Isn’t Going Away”
3. Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?”

*Thank you for taking this course. Enjoy your break.*